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DIRECTORATE OF  
INTELLIGENCE

# *Central Intelligence Bulletin*

State Department review completed

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Poland: A famous Polish author has released to the Western press a letter he has written to the Czechoslovak writers' union condemning his country's role in the invasion and expressing the solidarity of Polish intellectuals with the Czechoslovaks.

Jerzy Andrzejewski, who became prominent for "Ashes and Diamonds" and other works which were published in many languages after the Polish "October revolution" in 1956, has taken this drastic step because his letter was not allowed to surface in Prague. The text is a deeply moving recital of his pain and shame in the wake of the invasion and expresses the belief that he speaks for the majority of Polish writers, "for whom the words truth, happiness, faith, hope, patriotism, and progress have not yet died nor changed themselves into a dead weight."

He adds that Polish intellectuals had "lively hopes" for the success of the Czechoslovak experiment, although themselves "deprived of free speech." He charges that by participating, the Gomulka regime has insulted the best in Poland's traditions, and urges that the writers of both nations work for a rebirth of hope.

Andrzejewski's step not only places him in personal jeopardy, but will have wide repercussions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the rest of the Communist world. It is likely to breathe new life into the recently waning opposition of Polish intellectuals and students to the regime's repressive cultural policies. Czechoslovak intellectuals and students may be stirred into acts which could further aggravate the country's already irritated occupiers. Support for the letter, and official retaliation, can probably be expected throughout the Communist world, especially in Hungary, where shamefaced intellectuals so far have heeded regime cautions on the need to keep their feelings to themselves.

At the least, the letter is likely to lead to a widened split in the Polish party, which the student riots last spring had polarized into factions for ]

[and against Gomulka's orthodox leadership. Gomulka, playing on widespread fears, has been holding the party together by raising the specter of Soviet intervention.

Publication of the letter in the West could coincide with the opening in the next few days of the first meeting since the invasion of the Polish party's divided central committee. Gomulka was probably planning to get an endorsement at the meeting for Poland's participation in the Soviet invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia. This may become even more difficult with such a bombshell dropped into the meeting. Whether or not he gets an endorsement, his position as the party's leader will be further undermined.

[the plenum may also be the occasion for announcing some top-level changes in the party. These reportedly would include the removal from the politburo of Foreign Minister Rapacki and possibly two others who may have become liabilities to Gomulka in his factional struggle. If Andrzejewski's letter should receive world-wide distribution during the meeting, such changes might be reconsidered.]

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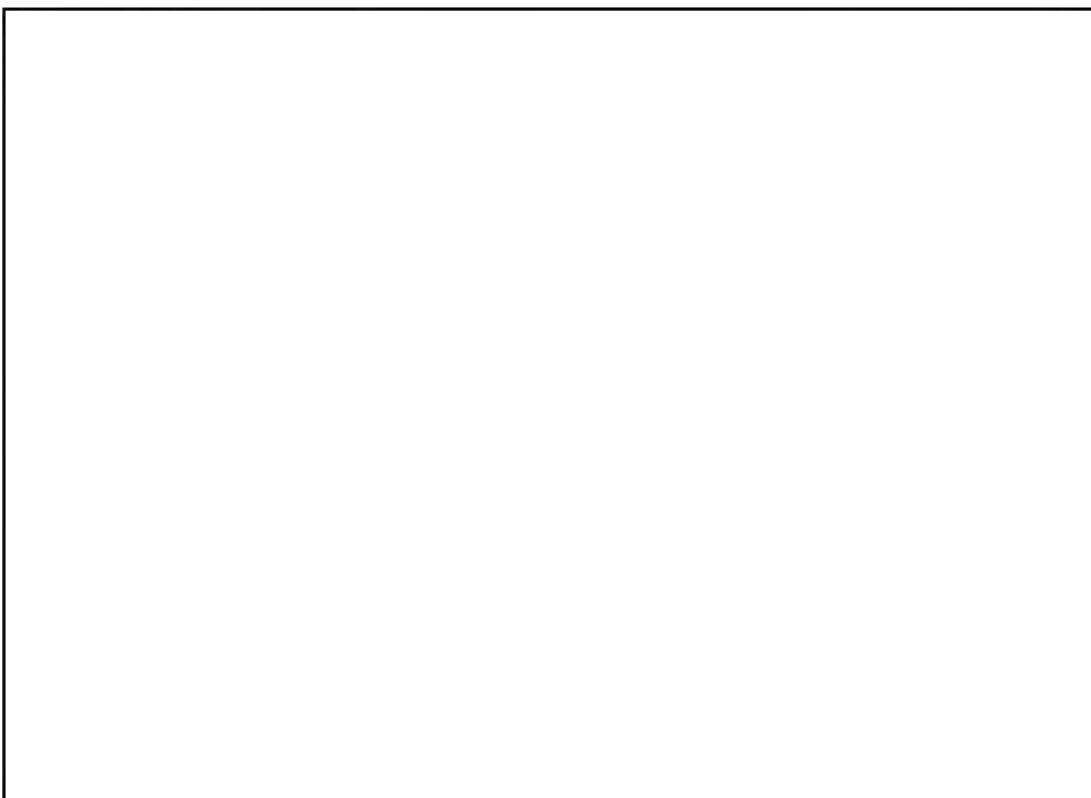
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NOTES

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Cyprus: Wide differences over the question of Turkish Cypriot local autonomy still separate the parties in the intercommunal talks on Cyprus. The Greek Cypriots find recently presented Turkish Cypriot proposals completely unacceptable. The Greek Cypriot negotiator, however, hopes to shelve the autonomy issue and move on to less troublesome questions. This could permit some progress and present a breakdown of the discussions.

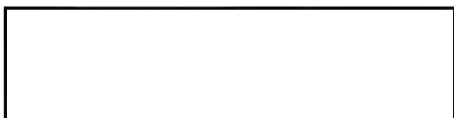
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